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ABSTRACT

This paper examines two examples of the Western model of romance in English and Spanish discourse: the English metaphor, "the (best) way to a man's heart is through his stomach" (journey metaphor) and its Spanish counterpart, "Al hombre se le conquista por el estomago" (war metaphor). Both central metaphors entail a number of perceptual, behavioral, and cognitive tasks that constitute the Western romance model. The paper discusses why English uses a journey metaphor, in contrast to the Spanish war metaphor, to experience the same (normal) causal order, where events lead to perception, thoughts, feelings, wishes, intentions, and acts. It proposes that both English and Spanish encode the conceptualization of a given shared reality, i.e. male/female prototypical behavior, by emphasizing the establishment of projections into metonymic principles that originate central metaphors, which vary from one language to another. To support this, the paper suggests the analysis of both metaphors in three stages, conceptual structure, application of the cognitive model, and the prototype scenario. (Contains 13 references.) (Author/SM)

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THE WAY TO A MAN'S HEART. JOURNEY AND WAR METAPHORS. METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF THE WESTERN ROMANCE MODEL IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH.

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Abstract

In this paper I look at two examples of the Western model of romance in English and Spanish symbolic discourse: The English metaphor "The (best) way to a man's heart is through his stomach" (journey metaphor), and its Spanish counterpart "Al hombre se le conquista por el estómago" (war metaphor). Both central metaphors entail a number of perceptual, behavioural, and cognitive tasks that constitute the Western romance model. Why does English use a journey metaphor, in contrast to the Spanish war metaphor, to experience the same (normal) causal order (D'Andrade 1995), where events lead to perception, thoughts, feelings, wishes, intentions, and acts? I propose that both English and Spanish encode the conceptualisation of a given shared reality, i.e. male/female prototypical behaviour, by emphasising the establishment of projections onto metonymic principles that originate central metaphors, which vary from one language to another. To support this, I suggest the analysis of both metaphors in three stages, conceptual structure, application of the cognitive model, and the prototype scenario.

1. Background

Abstract concepts that are not clearly delineated in experience, such as time, love, and ideas, are metaphorically structured, understood, and often discussed in terms of other concepts that are more concrete in experience, such as money, travel, and foods (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Most recent studies on metaphorical cultural models have been carried out in the fields of cognitive linguistics and cognitive anthropology (D'Andrade 1995; Lakoff 1993). Cognitive linguistics investigates cultural knowledge, knowledge which is embedded in words, stories, and in artefacts, and which is learned from and shared with other humans (D'Andrade 1995:xiv). Virtually all research strategies in this field explore the relationship between language and thought by studying the conceptual knowledge and cognitive systems embedded in metaphorical cultural models (Holland and Quinn, 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; D'Andrade 1995). According to the definition that guides research in cognitive linguistics, culture is an idealised cognitive system, a system of knowledge, beliefs, and values that exists in the minds of members of society. It is the mental equipment that they use in orienting, transacting, discussing, defining, categorising, and interpreting actual behaviour in their society.

Cognitive linguistics focuses generally on the intellectual and rational aspects of culture, particularly through studies of language use. Among its many research topics, one is central: cultural models, often termed schemata, abstractions that represent our conceptual knowledge in memory through stereotypical concepts. Cultural models structure our knowledge of objects and situations, events and actions, and sequences of events and actions. Items in the lexicon, grammatical categories, and rules are associated in memory with cultural models. Linguistic forms and cognitive schemata "activate" each other: linguistic forms bring schemata to mind, and schemata are expressed in linguistic forms. The metaphorical concept "embarrassment is exposure" is an example. The embarrassment schema is structured in terms of the exposure schema. The systematicity of the metaphor is reflected in everyday speech formulas, which are sources of insight into and evidence for the nature of the metaphor. Fixed-form expressions for "embarrassment is exposure" are evident in these sentences: "You really exposed yourself," "He felt the weight of everyone's eyes," "I felt naked," and "I wanted to crawl under a rock."

2. Cultural Journeys. Cultural Wars.

In most Western societies, both the concepts of journey and war are used metaphorically to discuss abstract concepts. Most of the time linguistic forms activate cognitive schemata, and conversely, cognitive schemata are evoked in the mind by linguistic forms. In the examples below, means of transport and routes are used to talk about relationships, as it is generally accepted that relationships can be discussed in terms of journeys:

English	Spanish
Car (long bumpy road)	coche (un camino largo y accidentado)
Train (off the track)	tren (fuera de la vía)
Boat (foundering)	barco (tocar fondo)
Plane (just taking off)	avión (despegando)

Similarly, it seems natural[1] to discuss politics in terms of war. The discourse about the 2001 election campaign in the UK was full of war metaphors:

English	Spanish
His overwhelming victory	Su aplastante victoria
Hague´s resignation opens the battle	La dimisión de Hague abre la batalla
It was a great victory for the Prime Minister	Fue una gran victoria para el primer ministro
His anti-European strategy	Su estrategia antieuropea

How is the expression "It was a great victory for the Prime Minister" to be understood as being about politics? Everyday symbolic discourse is full of metaphorical expressions that entail conceptual metaphors. Listeners readily recognise that speakers intend them to understand the entire scenario when one subpart of it is stated, because they share similar cognitive models. Such inferences about entire events based on the mention of a single part are evident in metonymic expressions such as "Wall Street is in a panic" (Gibbs 1992). For Haste (1993), metaphor is the bridge between individual thinker and social context, between existing ideas and new ideas, between where one person is and where the interlocutor wants to take the person. Metaphors and analogies are essential to explain new concepts, to resolve uncertainty or misunderstandings. Metaphors are used to communicate new ideas, to move between the familiar and the unfamiliar: 'metaphors underpin our taken-for-granted assumptions about the world. This accounts for how a listener can infer the information about something that is not formulated as "explicit declarative knowledge". ' (Haste 1993).

In the examples: "The best way to a man's heart is through his stomach" (JOURNEY METAPHOR), and its Spanish counterpart "Al hombre se le conquista por el estómago" (WAR METAPHOR), journey and war are used to talk and reason about romance. Following Lakoff (1993), questions arise concerning: is there any general principle which governs the way linguistic expressions that encapsulate journey and war are used? Is there any general principle that governs how it is possible to reason about romance using the knowledge used to reason about journeys and wars? The answer to these questions seems to be affirmative. This principle, though, is not part of English or Spanish, but of the conceptual system that underlies both languages: it is a principle which allows people to understand the domain of love in terms of journeys[2] and wars.

Certain conceptual metaphors, such as the LOVE METAPHOR[3] permeate gender. Conceptions of sex differences and gender roles are couched in metaphors that explain and justify, and the metaphors derived from gender and sexuality invade vast areas of life (Haste 1993). They activate cognitive schemata that give rise to gender stereotyped linguistic expressions. As a result, language contains many fossilised expressions, which are only activated as ready-made formulas or rituals. In this sense, language performs the double task of encoding cultural models and providing a continuum based on systematic correlations that, like human thought, are metaphorical in nature. Both the JOURNEY and the WAR central metaphors entail the symbolic conceptualisation of a number of perceptual, behavioural, and cognitive tasks through the seduction schema, in which certain prototypical behaviour of women is the focus of interest. Here these major cognitive representations, which occur in the romance model, and correspond to salient schemas of ordinary Western individuals, are the focus of attention. This concerns major central events that are part of a more complex Western model of the Mind (D'Andrade 1995). In practice, English and Spanish experience the reality of seduction in two different ways. English understands one domain of experience, the seduction schema, in terms of a very different domain of experience, journeys. Spanish understands the seduction schema in terms of the domain of experience of war.

The use of metaphor accounts for the question of why we have the domains we have. The metaphor involves understanding one domain of experience - romance, seduction, love etc. - in terms of a very different domain of experience - journeys and wars. More technically, the LOVE-AS-A-JOURNEY METAPHOR and the LOVE-AS-WAR METAPHOR can be understood as a mapping (in the mathematical sense) from a source domain, journeys and wars respectively, onto a target domain (in this case the seduction schema). The mapping is tightly structured. There are correspondences, according to which entities in the domain of seduction (e.g., the lovers, the relationship, etc.) correspond systematically to entities in the domain of a journey (the travellers, the vehicle, the destination etc.), and war (the winners, the losers, the victory etc).

2. The Romance Model in Western culture.

The Western cultural model of romance consists of an interrelated set of elements which fit together to represent the conceptions of femininity and masculinity. Typically one uses a model to reason with, or calculate from, by mentally manipulating the parts of the model in order to solve some problem. Every schema serves as a simple model in the sense that it is a representation of some object or event. However, many models are not schemas themselves, although they are composed of schemas[4]. Models are not schemas when the collection of elements is too large and complex to hold in short-term memory[5].

The cultural model of romance is not a precisely articulated concept but rather it serves as a catchall phrase for many different kinds of cultural knowledge (Shore 1996:45). As a folk model, the cultural model of romance generally refers to gender stereotypes. The model is not just constituted by a random collection of groundless beliefs about women and men. Rather, it represents cultural constructions of femininity and masculinity, sometimes based tenuously on physical differences that serve as underpinnings for the social relations between women and men as a group and as individuals (Lips 1988: 25). The romance model greatly affects people's understanding of the world and of human behaviour as framed in the language of opposites (male/female). It is both overtly and unconsciously taught and is rooted in knowledge learned from others as well as from accumulated personal experience. It refers to the unconscious set of assumptions and understandings shared by members of a society.

Because cultural models are abstractions that represent conceptual knowledge, in this case the knowledge about romantic relationships, they constitute cognitive structures in memory that represent stereotypical concepts[6]. Stereotyping may lead to binary differentiation: male versus female. Everyone is to fit into either one category or the other. As a result, gender stereotypes are defined through opposition. Another implication of gender stereotyping is that prototypes are understood as the two poles of a continuum: detaching from the prototype leads to deviations. In this sense, a man who

displays behaviour different from the stereotyped man is viewed as a less masculine man. The same happens with a woman who displays a number of values traditionally considered male. Stereotypes and the results of stereotyping may lead to limit situations like the one described below:

> The crew labelled two adjacent telephone booths with the signs Men and Women, placed a man in the "men's booth" and waited to see what could happen as a male passer-by came along wanting to make a phone call. Remarkably, men ignored the obviously empty "women's" phone booth and paced around impatiently watching for their turn to use the one labelled Men.
>
> (Lips 1988:3).

The romance model is not formulated as explicit declarative knowledge, but is implicitly embodied in the natural lexicon, based on schemas embedded in words but not formulated in explicit propositions, as in the metaphorical expressions:

English	Spanish
The best way to a man's heart is through his stomach	Al hombre se le conquista por el estómago

The model establishes a series of presuppositions related to the prototype of a woman:

1. That women would like to get to a man's heart.
2. That in order to get an emotional response from a man some kind of subterfuge will need to be used.
3. That women can cook in order to lure a man into a relationship.

Gender stereotypes do not exist in a vacuum. They are rooted in historical and cultural beliefs. Stereotyping minimises the intellectual effort of dealing with new information about people. It is extremely convenient to make assumptions simply on the basis of whether a person is male or female. The labelling of an individual as female or male has a powerful impact on other's perceptions of and reactions to individuals. Stereotypically, one tends to expect different behaviours, personal qualities, and physical appearances from women and men. When people are categorised by sex (their biological femaleness or maleness), the trend is to assume that they are also categorised by gender (the set of cultural expectations for femininity and masculinity), although on many dimensions there is no necessary relationship between biological sex and cultural expectations for women and men.

3. Metaphor Analysis.

3.1 The LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

I. Conceptual structure.

This metaphor involves understanding one domain of experience, the seduction schema, in terms of a very different domain of experience, journeys. This metaphor can be understood as a mapping (in the mathematical sense) from a source domain (in this case journeys) to a target domain (in this case the seduction schema). The mapping LOVE-AS-A-JOURNEY is tightly structured. There are ontological correspondences, according to which entities in the domain of love (e.g., the lovers, the romance, and the seduction) correspond systematically to entities in the domain of a journey (the traveller, the vehicle, and the destination). Epistemic correspondences are also established, permitting speakers to reason about love using the knowledge they use to reason about journeys.

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II. Metaphor analysis.

A) General principles.

The model establishes a general principle that generates a central metaphor, which is translated into use 1 of the metaphor, i.e., a man's stomach is a road to a man's heart. Other principles different from the general principle can be established, and also generate central metaphors, use 2, i.e. a man's heart is a man. Other minor principles established within the model give rise to minor metaphors, which are ignored in this study.

B) Correspondences.

Ontological correspondences between entities.

The ontological correspondences that constitute the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor map the ontology of travel onto the ontology of love. In doing so, they map the scenario about travel onto a corresponding love scenario in which the corresponding alternatives for action are seen (see below).

Epistemic correspondences.

Using the knowledge speakers have of the source and target domains certain correspondences are established. A woman is a TRAVELLER who wants to reach a DESTINATION (a man's heart). The ROAD to get to the destination is through cooking.

III. The prototype scenario.

The prototype scenario in the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor consists of a number of prototypical cases where the romance model is encapsulated in five scenes:

Scene 1: intention to approach.

X intends to move towards Y.

English: He decided to make a move on Teresa.

Spanish: Decidió entrarle a Teresa.

Scene 2: road or way.

The way X has to get to Y is going along a road.

English: Their relationship was to be a long pleasant road.

Spanish: Su relación iba a ser un camino de rosas.

Scene 3: departure.

X departs to the road that will take X to Y.

English: I want to start this journey by your side.

Spanish: Quiero empezar este viaje a tu lado.

Scene 4: journey.

X makes her way to Y.

English: He was on the road to her heart.

Spanish: Estaba de camino a su corazón.

Scene 5: arrival.

X gets to the end of the journey/destination (Y).

English: Look how far we've come, baby.

Spanish: Mira qué lejos hemos llegado, cariño.

The prototypical cases of the normal prototype scenario consist of those metaphors that project the source domains onto a part of the prototype scenario. In contrast, the cases that now follow can be considered as non-prototypical cases originating from deviations from the prototype which, in the last instance, exemplify the abnormal course of action in the prototype scenario:

Scene 1: lack of intention to approach.

X does not intend to make a movement towards Y.

English: I don't want to start a non-return journey.

Spanish: No quiero empezar un viaje sin retorno.

Scene 2: absence of road or way.

X lacks any road to get to Y.

English: He wouldn't search for the way to her heart.

Spanish: El ya no buscaría el camino a su corazón.

Scene 3: absence of departure.

X never departs to Y.

English: I don't want to take the big step with him.

Spanish: No me atrevo a dar el gran paso con él.

Scene 4: journey is never fulfilled.

X does not make the way to Y.

English: She didn't want to go any further with the affair.

Spanish: No quería ir más lejos con esa aventura.

Scene 5: there is no arrival.

X does not get to the end of the journey (Y).

English: The affair never got any further.

Spanish: La aventura no fue más lejos.

3.2 The LOVE IS WAR metaphor.

I. Conceptual structure.

Again this metaphor involves understanding one domain of experience, the seduction schema, in terms of a very different domain of experience, this time that of war. The metaphor can again be understood as a mapping from a source domain (in this case war) to a target domain (in this case the seduction schema). The mapping LOVE-AS-WAR is tightly structured. There are ontological correspondences, according to which entities in the domain of love (e.g., the lovers, and the romance) correspond systematically to entities in the domain of a WAR (strategy, conquest, and victory). Such correspondences permit people to reason about love using the knowledge used to reason about war.

II. Application of the metaphor.

A) General principles.

The model establishes a general principle that generates a central metaphor, which is translated into use 1 of the metaphor, i.e., to conquer a man's stomach is to conquer a man. Other principles different from the general principle can be established, they also generate central metaphors; use 2, i.e. a man's stomach is a man. Again minor principles and minor metaphors will be ignored.

B) Correspondences:

Ontological correspondences between entities.

The ontological correspondences that constitute the LOVE IS WAR metaphor map the ontology of travel onto the ontology of war. In doing so, they map the scenario about war onto a corresponding love scenario in which the corresponding alternatives for action are seen (see below).

Epistemic correspondences.

Using the knowledge speakers have of the source and target domains certain correspondences are established. A woman is a WARRIOR who wants to conquer a TARGET (a man's heart): making sacrifices, setting targets and strategies are involved in this course of action.

III. The prototype scenario.

The prototype scenario in the LOVE IS WAR metaphor consists of a number of prototypical cases where the romance models is encapsulated in five scenes:

Scene 1: intention to attack, setting targets.

X intends to attack Y.

English: He was determined to fight for her love.

Spanish: Estaba dispuesto a luchar por su amor.

Scene 2: strategy.

X displays the machinery to defeat Y.

English: He used all his weapons to win her interest.

Spanish: El usaba todas sus armas para ganarse el interés de ella.

Scene 3: treaty.

X agrees a treaty .

English: He agreed to give up fighting for her love.

Spanish: Consintió en dejar de luchar por su amor.

Scene 4: victory.

X gets the victory.

English: He won her affections.

Spanish: Se ganó su cariño.

Scene 5: defeat.

X loses the battle

English: She defeated him with her smile.

Spanish: Lo derrotó con su sonrisa.

The prototypical cases of the normal prototype scenario consist of those metaphors that map the source domains onto a part of the prototype scenario. In contrast, the cases that now follow can be considered as non prototypical cases originating from deviancies from the prototype which, in the last instance, exemplify the abnormal course of action in the prototype scenario:

Scene 1: lack of intention to conquer.

X does not intend to attack Y.

English: I don't want to conquer his heart.

Spanish: No quiero conquistar su corazón.

Scene 2: counter-strategy.

X does not display any machinery to defeat Y.

English: She disarmed him with her voice.

Spanish: Ella lo dejó desarmado con su voz.

4. Conclusions

The metaphorical expressions: "The best way to a man's heart is through his stomach" and its Spanish counterpart "Al hombre se le conquista por el estómago" constitute two examples of how the romance model is embodied in the natural lexicon. The LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor maps the ontology of journey onto the ontology of love. The ontological correspondences that constitute the LOVE IS WAR metaphor map the ontology of war onto the ontology of love. The Western cultural model of romance consists of an interrelated set of elements which fit together to represent conceptions of femininity and masculinity. Through the use of metaphor one domain of experience, romance, seduction, love etc. is understood in terms of very different domains of experience, journeys and wars. The model is based on a general principle that appears embedded in words. This principle is not part of English or Spanish, but of the conceptual system that underlies both languages.

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Notes:

[1] Most often cultural models are connected to the emotional responses to particular experiences so that people regard their assumptions about the world and the things in it as "natural." If an emotion evokes a response of disgust or frustration, for example, a person can deliberately take action to change the model.

[2] As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1993) point out, the conceptualisation of the journey is a reiterative one in English. Time as a concept is experienced in contradictory ways. Sometimes as a moving object:

English	Spanish
time flies	el tiempo vuela

But at other times, the concept appears as a non-mobile point or as something that can be approached:

English	Spanish
We're approaching the third Millennium	Nos acercamos al tercer milenio

[3] In the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, there is a set of correspondences that originate the LOVE IS A JOURNEY mapping:

- The lovers are travellers.
- The love relationship corresponds to the vehicle.
- The lovers' common goals correspond to their common destinations on the journey.
- Difficulties in the relationship correspond to impediments to travel.

[4] For example, seeing a grocery store clerk hand a bag of apples to a shopper and accept money, "the commercial transaction schema" would serve as a probable model for what has been seen.

[5] By definition, a schema is a "bounded, distinct, and unitary representation", which must fit into short-term memory. (D'Andrade 1995)

[6] For instance, the term "bachelor" can be defined as unmarried male. Tarzan or the Pope are not representative of the stereotype of bachelor.